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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1868.

The proposed bill to except the reconstruction acts out of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court has called forth from Judge Nicholas a noble remonstrance, which we publish in the Journal of today. Our venerable townsman deserves the gratitude of his countrymen. And we believe that he enjoys it. A more sagacious or more faithful sentiment certainly has never stood on the watch-tower of liberty.

The question of forcing negro suffrage upon the whole country, North as well as South, was agitated by the radical leaders in the last Congress. In March, '67, Mr. Wilson, of the Senate, introduced a bill to that effect, providing, "that there shall be no denial of the elective franchise to any citizen of the United States, by any State, on account of color or race or previous condition, anything in the constitution or laws of the State to the contrary notwithstanding." This bill was not acted on, though most of the radical Senators were said to be in favor of it.

In the ensuing July, Senator Sumner said in one of his radical speeches that he "intended to force negro suffrage" into the Northern States; that it "would secure three thousand votes in Connecticut and fifteen thousand in Pennsylvania." It was needed in New York and Indiana, and, in fact, in every Northern State. It was understood, that upon this subject the general opinion of the radicals of the Senate was in full sympathy with him.

The Harrisburg Telegraph, the central organ of the radical party of Pennsylvania, said before the last election in that State: "The radicals of Congress have come to an understanding to pass a bill next winter to enforce negro suffrage upon all the Southern States." And old Thad. Stevens has made the move in Congress. He has introduced a bill into the House of Representatives to force upon the country a general suffrage bill, to operate independently of the right which the States now have to determine who shall and who shall not exercise the elective franchise within their borders.

The bill is as follows: "Be it enacted, That on all questions affecting the whole of the United States whose influence may reach to all national questions such as the election of President, Vice President, and members of Congress, every male citizen of the United States above the age of twenty-one years shall have the right to vote in the district where he resides his vote, shall be entitled to vote for all such national officers and on all such national questions as shall be decided by the majority of the electors of the United States, and it shall apply to all State elections. All such elections shall be by ballot."

We suppose that this bill will pass Congress, and, in that event, we shall have negro suffrage throughout all the States under the Supreme Court or some other power (the people's own it may well be) shall interpose to save us from the black and loathsome horror. But we have no objection to any attempt of Congress to carry out this atrocity. The projected enactment would sweep away Northern radicalism with the power of a thousand whirlwinds. Try the experiment, oh ye radicals, if ye dare.

The Cincinnati Gazette charges Kentucky with "dominant barbarism," because an Irish mob at Frankfort hung a negro for outraging the person of an Irish child, fifteen years old, and throwing her over a precipice sixty feet high. The Gazette knows very well that such horrid raps and murders, whether committed by black men or white, have often been thus avenged in all parts of the Union, and will continue to be, so long as man shall keep his human nature. The Gazette speaks of the Frankfort negro as having been simply accused of the double crime for which he was executed. It is true that he was not tried in a court of justice, but he was identified by the testimony of the dying child.

It is a noticeable fact, that while the radical newspapers express the utmost horror at the hanging of the negro rascal and murderer, they have no words of horror for the all-British crimes he perpetrated.

No one can condemn and deprecate such lawless acts as Congress would be doing there is good reason to think, that if the black devil of Frankfort had not been executed as he was, the Freedmen's Bureau would have taken his person out of the hands of the civil law, and that justice would not have been done upon him at all. The unjust and criminal protection extended by the Bureau to the Freedmen who commit such crimes tends directly and powerfully to the encouragement of lynch law.

How can the radicals have the impudence to say that the Eighth Congressional District of Ohio, where they know that the successful candidate came out strongly before the people in favor of the payment of the principal of the public debt in greenbacks, and when they know that the people know that they are daily denouncing payment in that currency as downright repudiation and the sum of all "cupheadism."

The Albany Evening Journal sneers at us as a "doughy warrior" because we presume to express an opinion of the campaign of Gen. Grant. We suppose that we are quite as doughy a warrior as the Albany editor, and as well qualified as he to give an opinion of Grant as a commander. He sneers at Grant as a coward, and absurdly, not seeming to entertain the slightest doubt that his own military opinions are of immense value.

Congress sets out to frame an entirely new and revolutionary rule of action for the government of the Supreme Court in order to prevent a particular decision in one particular case and directs its battery of general legislation at individuals.

The Louisville Journal wishes, "May the devil fly away with the Bureau!" Which devil, old Beelzebub, or the devil of rebellion—Springfield (Ill.) Republican.

The devil that had possession of your soul and body when you invoked every negro in the country to go habitually armed.

Senator Frelinghuysen, in discussing the supplementary reconstruction bill, on Tuesday last, said that the President had no right to send a message to Congress declaring a law enacted by that body unconstitutional. Mr. Frelinghuysen must have had a very scant measure of sense. The Constitution provides that the President may from time to time recommend to Congress such measures as he shall think demanded by the public good. Of course if he thinks an existing law unconstitutional, he may communicate to Congress his opinion as to its unconstitutionality and urge its repeal; and he can press its repeal as unconstitutional without declaring it unconstitutional.

Mr. F. further says: "Let the Executive of this country attempt to set up his will against the expressed will of Congress, and this country ceases to be a republic and is nothing less than a despotism." All this if the President merely attempt to set up his will against the expressed will of Congress. At the bare attempt, he charges a despotism, or a failure, the charges to be made by Congress, and not by Mr. F. Has the same view to be held, Mr. F. that if that body attempt to set up its will against the expressed will of Congress, he unquestionably holds that the country at once becomes a despotism. Well, he may be correct in his view, that if an attempt be made by President or Congress to set up its will against the expressed will of Congress, the republic turns to a despotism; but, if so, it can only be because Congress, at any attempt to set up a will in opposition to its own, will strike them down, as it already strikes them down, and erect, as it already erects, a despotism upon the mortal dust of the republic.

If the President and the Judiciary have any wills of their own, let them set up whenever they please, and against whatever they please. And then let Congress do the worst it can. If no will can be successfully set up against its expressed will, then we have a despotism already, and the fear of a coming change to a republic to a despotism is idle, vain, and foolish. Let us not bow down to an already established despotism from the apprehension that one will be established.

He (Humphrey Marshall) wants "cheap money and plenty of it," and believes, with many conservative Democrats who did not even get as near the field as he thought that the lynch law or money to carry on the war should be paid in a depreciated and worthless currency—Furphy's currency.

If currency is "a depreciated and worthless currency," what party but your own, oh Furphy, created it and has rendered it worthless? And isn't this worthless currency the identical currency in which the bondholders have their loans to the Government? And isn't the identical currency in which the Government now pays all its debts except the bonds on the bonds? And isn't it the identical currency in which it pays all pensioners, all officers of the army and navy, and all civil officers, and all public employes, yourself included, throughout the country? And isn't it the identical currency in which you, as Secretary of the Senate and the owner of two newspapers both daily, do whatever paying you do?

Why should not your radical Congress and your radical self be ashamed to cancel obligations with worthless currency? And why shouldn't the bondholders be ashamed to sponge out the debts due from them with worthless currency, whilst demanding, that, for the worthless currency furnished them on loan to the Government, they shall have nothing less valuable than gold?

What a worthless currency! Are you not rather hard upon your friends and yourself? Furphy praises the "generosity of the Republicans of Alabama in conceding to the Northern residents the several Congressional nominations." Think of it, fellow-countrymen! Northern men selected for all the Congressional nominations, and once proud Senators! Northern men chosen to represent the State with expatiation in their hands, or packs upon their backs, expressly to grab the offices and whatever else they could! Not a solitary Southern man deemed fit to be a Yankee adversary's competitor! And, oh, sinner, is this worth! And, oh, sinner, is this!

The radicals say that the Supreme Court, if it should try the constitutionality of acts of Congress, would be going into politics, and that it has no right to do this. And so they propose to legislate that the concurrence of two-thirds of the Judges shall be necessary to decide an act of Congress unconstitutional. But would not the trial of Congressional laws by the Court, if a concurrence of two-thirds were required, be just as much "going into politics" as simply a bare majority were necessary?

What fools these radicals do make of themselves and try to make of the people! The Norwich (O.) Bulletin, radical, says: "That there was a slight foundation for the story (about Grant's foundation for the story) is not denied, and the General as deeply regrets it as any of his friends." Indeed? Well, no doubt President Johnson regrets his condition on the day of his inauguration as Vice-President as deeply as any of his friends. But can any amount of regret secure him, even after the lapse of seven years, against the sneers and the vituperations of his enemies?

The Western Citizen, a neutral journal published at Paris in this State, has been purchased by F. L. McCleskey and L. P. Fisher, who have carried it at once to the Democratic front, where, if we may judge from the tried ability and fidelity of the senior editor and proprietor, it will do effective as well as gallant service for the country. We predict for Grant under its new management very great success. We wish it the greatest.

The Louisiana radical convention, it seems, are about to fix the salaries of the Secretary of State, Treasurer, and Auditor at two thousand dollars. This is about \$40 per day. The niggers and mean whites of the convention have fixed their own compensation at \$30 per day and twenty cents mileage, but they think \$40 per day and no mileage quite enough for Secretary of State, Treasurer, and Auditor! Valuable niggers! Invaluable mean white folks!

The white radicals in the South are the meanest of human things, and the niggers are not much better.

(For the Louisville Journal.)
THE JUDICIAL VETO—THE POWER OF CONGRESS TO ANNUL THAT VETO CONSIDERED.

BY
 S. S. NICHOLAS.

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution," &c.

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time order and establish."

All other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make."

The mere equivalent of this express language is contained in the following paraphrase: Congress shall organize a Supreme Court, which when organized shall have appellate jurisdiction over all cases arising under the Constitution, except for a limited number of cases.

The Court having been organized and its appellate jurisdiction prescribed so as to reach all cases of sufficient amount arising under the Constitution, the question is whether Congress can now annul the power of the court by a prohibition of its appellate jurisdiction over cases involving the constitutional validity of Congressional acts.

The constitutionality of the reconstruction acts is the most important question that ever has occurred or can occur for judicial decision. If the Supreme Court can be deprived of its appellate jurisdiction over that question, it can equally be deprived of all its appellate jurisdiction, as can also all the inferior courts be deprived of their original jurisdiction, and the whole Judicial Department be thus practically abolished, without the ratification of other tribunals for the exercise of judicial power which the Constitution imperatively requires to be vested and kept in constant use.

In this aspect, the question for consideration is, whether the power to construct and regulate carries with it, under the broad unqualified language used, the power to destroy the Judicial Department. The right so to destroy is a different matter from the power. Inevitably language may have given the power, whilst evident intent, as developed in the whole scope and spirit of the Constitution, denies the right to make such destruction.

It might be a question of some nicety before a mere judicial tribunal whether the want of right could be treated as a want of power, or whether it could justify the use of such action as unconstitutional. The determining of that question not being necessary for the present purpose, its decision will be left for the future. Its previous settlement is not at all necessary for its proper decision by the tribunal before which it is now pending—that great tribunal of public opinion, which will authoritatively pronounce its decision on the action taken by Congress.

All casuists agree that a violation of the spirit of the Constitution is as morally wrong as the violation of its plain letter, yet the courts are properly cautious about carrying out the aphorism. The popular tribune, on the contrary, is vastly more solicitous about the inviolability of the spirit than the mere letter of the Constitution. Before this tribunal Congress must and should answer the question, "What right to exercise it in this manner now attempted for destroying the Supreme Court."

That eminent jurist, Horace Binney, "the head of the American bar," from his great zeal in the Union cause, made a noble effort to justify President Lincoln for disregarding the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, before its suspension by Congress. He showed that the law which caused the publication of his argument, he found himself pressed by the argument of his adversaries, that Congress having the power, not the right, to repeal or deny the writ, must be the department to which the inhibition against its suspension was directed, and used the following forcible language in disproof of such power of repeal:

"Congress has power, as to the number, order, and jurisdiction of the inferior courts; but has no discretion as to vesting or not vesting the whole judicial power in Courts of some description."

"To admit that it is mandatory on Congress to create tribunals in which the whole judicial power may vest, and yet argue that it is within the absolute discretion of Congress to give or withhold the instrumental power necessary to the exercise of the whole, is to argue without color or semblance of reason."

"The Judiciary is an independent department throughout. It is created and established by the Constitution. The Legislature, as far as regards this department, is the organ or agent of the Constitution, and its active power is its place of abode and its active power. Congress, in this matter has no discretion. Congress can no more withhold tribunals than withhold the vesting of judicial power—no more withhold the instruments by which the tribunals can act than withhold the tribunals—no more do any of these things than withhold the Constitution itself, or the Constitution itself."

"The Legislature is a moral and constitutional power and cannot by any form of law effectually do anything that is contrary to the mandate of the Constitution, nor omit to do what it is commanded to do. There are infinite things which are within its discretion to do or not to do; but to give the necessary organ to the Constitution, and to withhold it, is a different matter. It is to destroy the Constitution."

Congress is constitutionally bound to do what is necessary to enable the Judiciary to exercise their powers. It is the condition on which their own co-ordinate power exists. "Incongruous is the attribution to Congress of plenary and untrammelled discretion in any case where the Constitution requires that body to act to a certain end and to do so. The mandate is the trammel. The power is a trust to act, and a trust to act, created by the Constitution, is a command to act, which is violated by not acting, or by acting in opposition to the end or purpose of the trust and command. Otherwise Congress may constitutionally destroy the Constitution. As an act to deprive the courts of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or any other writ necessary to the exercise of judicial power, would be an unconstitutional assault on a co-ordinate department against the mandate of the Constitution. It would be an insurrection of the creature against his creator."

"Nothing has passed more completely into a primary truth, than that the Constitution is a government of enumerated specific powers, confined to the exercise

of such powers with their necessary and proper means, all others being reserved to the States or to the people; and consequently that the power *ultra vires* does not exist in this limited government."

It is preposterous to suppose that somebody not the President may be selected by Congress to execute the power of arrest and imprisonment during suspension of the *habeas corpus* privilege. The doctrine that Congress can in any case choose another Executive, when the President is in office, is revolutionary.

There is no need of entire consent in all the forcible language of Mr. Binney, to yield assent to the great philosophy of the idea he enunciates, that a Judicial Department kept in full action over all the subjects confided to it by the Constitution is necessary to the very existence of the co-ordinate power of Congress itself. It is fully in accordance with the generally received theory, that the three great departments must always be in full vitality, with the free exercise of those powers given as counter-checks to each other. It is not at all irrational to presume an intention, that, if either of the departments were paralyzed or stricken down, the other two ought to suspend all action until the suffering department should be restored.

The intention is very clear that all legislation be subject to two veto, one by the President, the other by the Judiciary. As a *non obstante* clause dispensing with the necessity for an act receiving the Presidential approval, so neither could a similar clause save it from the judicial veto. The clear purpose, the ruling principle of the Constitution is not to trust implicitly to Congressional virtue and intelligence as to usurpations over the Constitution, but to require the actual or presumable concurrence of the other two departments. It was the clear, indubitable intention that there should be a Judiciary with ample jurisdiction and power to prevent Congress from disobeying or acting outside the Constitution. In the absence of such a Judicial department, Congress would have no more rightful power to legislate except through the consent of a minority of the members of that body. The absence of any one of the departments would suspend the functions of all three, the virtual or potential power of the whole being necessary to that departmental *quorum* which alone can justify Congress in the attempted performance of its legislative functions. Intelligence and honesty would govern the members of Congress, towards preventing violation of the Constitution, than the felt obligation of their official oaths. A construction is indispensable which shall in some way prevent their escape from that salutary fear, by any device, for the nullification of the judicial veto. All that was contemplated Congress should or would do, as all that heretofore has been done, was to regulate the amount which should entitle a case to be carried to the Supreme Court, whilst such and such exceptions are all that the Constitution intended Congress should have power to make.

It is not an unpalatable construction to say that the clause "with such exceptions as Congress may from time to time order and establish" shall make "do not carry the power arbitrarily to make any conceivable exception or regulation, for that power might be used, under the mandate to institute a proper Supreme Court, as to enable Congress, by revoking its jurisdiction, practically to destroy all its power. It would be a plain subversion of the foundation of the Constitution, and it would be a plain subversion of the Constitution, to enable Congress to withdraw its legislation from the judicial test of its compatibility with the Constitution."

Strong as was popular distrust of legislative discretion, at the inauguration of our governments State and Federal, yet that distrust has been greatly on the increase, from experience of the practical workings of those governments. There has been no reason to suppose that the government would be free government. The judicial power is the protecting power of the whole government. Its position is on the outer wall. * * * By the absolute necessity of the case, the members of the Supreme Court become judges of the extent of constitutional powers. They are the great arbiters between encroaching sovereignty and the rights of the people, and it is to be feared that the Supreme Court established by the Constitution."

OUR FRANKFORT LETTER.
 FRANKFORT, Feb. 3, 1868.
 To the Editors of the Louisville Journal:
 THANKS FOR GOSPEL

Just now are most abundant with the usually quiet citizens of this usually quiet city. Incidents and accidents of the late tragedy are rehearsed with many an interpretation. It is that country people are not interested. Jokes and scraps that escaped the general crowd of excursionists on their late trip to the Western Athens are hourly brought to light, and told with a zest that furnishes unending food for laughter and enjoyment, whilst the mystifications—the beauty and the brilliancy of our late grand masquerade ball of the 21st inst. have been referred to, and the dwellers in Frankfort have awoke to the gay life which marks "the height of the season," and renders their city a bad place to leave. The bright bracing weather that has lately come upon us has been most conducive to hilarity and pleasure—worship, and, at almost all hours of the day, the many-headed and many-bodied gods of the first order, and the dwellers in Frankfort have awoke to the gay life which marks "the height of the season," and renders their city a bad place to leave. The bright bracing weather that has lately come upon us has been most conducive to hilarity and pleasure—worship, and, at almost all hours of the day, the many-headed and many-bodied gods of the first order, and the dwellers in Frankfort have awoke to the gay life which marks "the height of the season," and renders their city a bad place to leave. 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